

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 001387 TOSEC 250163

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TAGS: PORG, OCON, UNESCO, US, IS, XF

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: US PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO  
EXPERTS MEETING ON RACE PROBLEM IN PARIS-JANUARY 26-30

(S/S NO. 7600052

REF: USUN 6996

PROBLEM:

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES TAKE PART IN THE UNESCO MEETING  
OF GOVERNMENTAL EXPERTS TO PREPARE A DECLARATION ON RACE  
AND RACIAL PREJUDICE, A MEETING WHICH WILL COME SHORTLY  
AFTER THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND  
AT WHICH HARD-LINE ARABS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY INJECT THE  
ZIONISM-RACISM EQUATION AS THEY DID AT THE UNESCO MASS  
MEDIA MEETING IN DECEMBER?

BACKGROUND ANALYSIS:

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PAGE 02 STATE 001387 TOSEC 250163

ACTING ON A DECISION OF THE LAST UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE, UNESCO HAS CONVENED A MEETING OF GOVERNMENTAL EXPERTS FOR JANUARY 26-30 TO PREPARE A DRAFT DECLARATION ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE FOR SUBMISSION TO THE 1976 UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE. THE GENERAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTION CALLED PREPARATION OF THIS DRAFT A "CONCRETE MEASURE" IN THE

THE ORGANIZATION'S PARTICIPATION IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAM OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. THE RESOLUTION ALSO STATED THAT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF UNESCO'S HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES, AND NOT JUST THOSE RELATING TO RACE, IS EQUATED WITH UNESCO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECADE PROGRAM. THE DRAFT DECLARATION WAS, HOWEVER, FIRST ADVANCED AS A POSSIBLE ACTIVITY IN 1972 AS AN OUTGROWTH OF A 1967 UNESCO STATEMENT ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE. THIS WAS PRIOR TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DECADE.

THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WAS INAUGURATED BY THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1973. AT THE 30TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY THE CONCEPT OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WAS FUNDAMENTALLY ALTERED THROUGH THE ADOPTION BY THE ASSEMBLY OF RESOLUTION 3379 DETERMINING THAT ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM AND RACE DISCRIMINATION. THIS DETERMINATION WAS MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ASSEMBLY'S DEBATE ON THE PROGRAM FOR THE DECADE. AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE ASSEMBLY'S DECISION RELATING TO ZIONISM, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD NO LONGER PARTICIPATE IN THE DECADE PROGRAM.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE UNESCO EXPERT MEETING, AND WE MUST DECIDE WHETHER, IN VIEW OF OUR ANNOUNCED POSITION NOT TO PARTICIPATE FURTHER IN THE DECADE PROGRAM, WE WILL TAKE PART IN THIS MEETING. THE MEETING ITSELF IS NOT A SIGNIFICANT UNESCO ACTIVITY. ITS SIGNIFICANCE ARISES FROM ITS POTENTIAL USE AS A PLATFORM FOR THE RADICAL ARABS IN THEIR CAMPAIGN TO ISOLATE ISRAEL.

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PAGE 03 STATE 001387 TOSEC 250163

THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE CONVENING OF THIS MEETING LEND THEMSELVES TO TWO INTERPRETATIONS. THE MEETING COULD BE REGARDED AS AN ACTIVITY EXCLUSIVELY RELATED TO UNESCO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE. HOWEVER, SINCE THE PROPOSAL FOR A DECLARATION PREDATES THE PROCLAMATION OF THE DECADE AND SINCE THE MEETING ITSELF RELATES TO THE OVERALL UNESCO HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM, IT COULD BE ARGUED (THOUGH NOT VERY

PERSUASIVELY) THAT THE MEETING HAD A BROADER FOCUS THAN AN EXCLUSIVE DECADE ACTIVITY. IF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CHOOSE TO PARTICIPATE, IT WOULD HAVE TO DO SO ON THE BASIS OF AN INTERPRETATION THAT THE MEETING COULD BE UNDERSTOOD TO BE AN ACTIVITY UNDER THE DECADE PROGRAM ONLY IN THE MOST PERIPHERAL AND INDIRECT WAY. ON THE OTHER HAND, A DECISION NOT TO PARTICIPATE WOULD BE BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE

MEETING CONSTITUTED A DECADE ACTIVITY WHICH WAS FORE-LOSED BY OUR GENERAL POLICY DECISION REGARDING FUTURE PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE.

OUR PERMANENT DELEGATION TO UNESCO HAS RECOMMENDED THAT IN CONCERT WITH THE EC-9 AND SOME OTHERS WE SEEK POSTPONEMENT OF THE MEETING AND, THAT, IF THE MEETING IS HELD WE NOT PARTICIPATE. AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN URGES THAT WE BOYCOTT THE MEETING, URGE OUR FRIENDS TO DO THE SAME, AND NOT GET INVOLVED IN ANY EFFORT AT POSTPONEMENT. THE EC-9 HAVE NOT TAKEN A POSITION BUT THERE IS SOME DISPOSITION ON THE PART OF EC-9 PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES IN PARIS TO TRY TO GET THE MEETING RESTRUCTURED TO COMPRISE ONLY A GENERAL DEBATE ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE AND NOT COME UP WITH A DRAFT AT THIS TIME. AS FOR POSTPONEMENT, THEY HAVE NOT YET BROACHED SUBJECT WITH DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOW.

ISRAELI PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE HAS INFORMED OUR DELEGATION IN PARIS THAT HE IS UNINSTRUCTED AS TO ATTENDANCE AT MEETING BUT IS PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH US POSITION.

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PAGE 04 STATE 001387 TOSEC 250163

OPTIONS:

1. BOYCOTT THE MEETING, MAKING CLEAR PUBLICLY THAT PARTICIPATION IS INCONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY OF REJECTING DECADE ACTIVITIES, AND URGE EC-9 AND OTHER WEO COUNTRIES ALSO TO BOYCOTT.

PROS:

-- WOULD EMPHASIZE THE FIRMNESS OF OUR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE UNGA'S ZIONISM-RACISM RESOLUTION.

-- THE ZIONISM-RACISM FORMULA IS LIKELY TO BE ENDORSED AT THE MEETING, THUS REQUIRING OUR WALKOUT

IN ANY EVENT.

-- A FIRM STAND ON OUR PART MAY PERSUADE OTHER  
POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS TO BOYCOTT THE MEETING, THUS  
REDUCING THE IMPACT OF ANY DECISIONS REACHED.

-- WOULD DENY TO THE ARABS AT LEAST ONE OF THEIR  
TARGETS IN THEIR ANTI-ISRAELI CAMPAIGN AND TO THAT  
EXTENT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN THE FUTURE IN MAKING THIS  
TACTIC LESS ATTRACTIVE TO THE ARABS.

-- WOULD PROBABLY BE A HELPFUL STEP IN THE LONG  
RUN TO DEMONSTRATE CREDIBLY TO OTHERS THAT WE  
WILL STAY AWAY FROM UN ACTIVITIES GENERALLY WHEN  
WE THINK THEY ARE TOTALLY IRRESPONSIBLE.

CONS:

-- BY NOT PARTICIPATING WE WOULD LOSE ANY CHANCE TO  
AFFECT THE OUTCOME OF THE MEETING, AND IN PARTICULAR  
THE CHANCE, HOWEVER UNLIKELY, TO PREVENT THE  
INTRODUCTION OF THE ZIONISM-RACISM FORMULA.

2. SEEK POSTPONEMENT OF THE MEETING:

PROS:

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PAGE 05 STATE 001387 TOSEC 250163

-- GENERAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION  
MIGHT CONCEIVABLY RELIEVE THE ARAB PRESSURE TO INSERT  
THE ZIONISM-RACISM LANGUAGE INTO THE DRAFT DECLARATION,  
THUS ENABLING US TO GET GENERAL AGREEMENT TO ADOPTING  
AN ACCEPTABLE TEXT.

-- EVEN WITHOUT SUCH IMPROVEMENTS, WE WOULD HAVE MORE  
TIME TO UNDERTAKE REPRESENTATIONS WITH UNESCO MEMBER  
STATES WITH A VIEW TO GETTING AN ACCEPTABLE TEXT.

CONS:

-- SEEKING A POSTPONEMENT WOULD INDICATE THAT WE ARE  
PREPARED IN PRINCIPLE TO ATTEND A MEETING THAT HAS  
BEEN DESCRIBED AS A PART OF THE UN DECADE ON RACISM.

-- IT IS UNLIKELY THAT WE COULD GET A POSTPONEMENT  
OF MORE THAN A FEW MONTHS AND NO CERTAINTY THAT CHANGED  
CIRCUMSTANCES WILL REDOUND TO OUR BENEFIT.

3. ATTEND THE MEETING AFTER HAVING MADE EXTENSIVE

ADVANCE LOBBYING EFFORTS TO ASSURE THAT THE ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE WOULD EITHER NOT BE INTRODUCED INTO THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE MEETING, OR IF INTRODUCED, REJECTED IN THE COURSE OF SUCH LOBBYING. IF, IN SPITE OF OUR EFFORTS, THE ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE FORMULA IS ENDORSED AT THE MEETING, THEN WALK OUT.

PROS:

-- WE WOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE ZIONISM-RACISM FORMULA AND OUR DETERMINATION TO CORRECT THE WRONG PERPETRATED BY THE UNGA.

-- THOSE INTERESTED IN PRESERVING UNESCO WOULD BE LIKELY TO JOIN IN OUR EFFORTS TO KEEP THE ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE OUT OF UNESCO.

-- WE WILL HAVE GREATEST EFFECT ON TEXT OF DRAFT DECLARATION IF WE ARE PRESENT WHEN DRAFTING IS DONE.  
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PAGE 06 STATE 001387 TOSEC 250163

CONS:

-- WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH OUR STATED POLICY OF REFUSING TO PARTICIPATE FURTHER IN THE DECADE PROGRAM.

-- COULD BE INTERPRETED AS A SIGN OF WEAKENING IN OUR OPPOSITION TO THE ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE.

-- A MASSIVE LOBBYING CAMPAIGN WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE SUCCESSFUL IN KEEPING OUT THE ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE AND COULD WORSEN THE CLIMATE FOR THE JAN. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON THE PALESTINE ISSUE.

BUREAU AND OTHER VIEWS:

NEA AND IO SUPPORT OPTION 1-BOYCOTTING THE MEETING - AS DOES USUN. THE PERMDEL TO UNESCO RECOMMENDS WORKING TO POSTPONE THE MEETING BUT NOT PARTICIPATING IF THE MEETING DOES TAKE PLACE.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. THAT WE BOYCOTT THE MEETING, ANNOUNCING IN ADVANCE THAT PARTICIPATION WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH OUR DECISION NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN DECADE ACTIVITIES, AND URGE FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE THE SAME POSITION (OPTION 1).

APPROVE      DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY,

2. THAT WE SEEK POSTPONEMENT OF THE MEETING (OPTION 2).

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OR

3. THAT WE ATTEND THE MEETING BUT BE PREPARED TO  
WALK OUT IF THE ZIONISM-RACISM FORMULA IS ENDORSED  
(OPTION 3).

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PAGE 07 STATE 001387 TOSEC 250163

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CLEARANCE: IO - SLEWIS

D/HA - RPALMER

NEA - SSOBER

S - JCOVEY   INGERSOLL

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